

LINGUISTIC CONTACTS OF FRENCH AND GERMAN

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(Revised text of a paper read on April 19, 1961)

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The most obvious contacts between the two languages are borrowings, sometimes more perceptible to the eye than to the ear, such as *Dame*, *Billet*, *Abonnement* in German, or *ersatz*, *bock*, *ausweiss* used in French. But these examples are not likely to occur among the earliest words the learner encounters. In fact, the first impression of the student of German, especially if he already knows some French or Latin, is that the vocabulary is so different from that of French or Latin. Such words as *Garten*, *Vater*, *Mutter*, *singen*, and *helfen*, have the so-called "homely Anglo-Saxon" feel about them. But as the student progresses he begins to notice words used in German such as *Etage*, *Parterre*, *Station*, that clearly have very real contact with French even if they are pronounced somewhat differently. The use of French words like *Rouleau* to mean a window blind, *Melange* to mean coffee with cream (both with the wrong gender) or *Perron*, a station platform--all of them examples of un-French uses of a French word, may cause him some mystification or amusement (as does the use of *un smoking* and *palais de danse* to the speaker of English and French respectively), but the contact is undoubtedly there.

Then he begins to notice or have pointed out to him parallels like *alle drei Monate--tous les trois mois; ich bin schon seit acht Tagen hier--je suis ici depuis huit jours; ohne ein einziges Wort zu sagen--sans dire un seul mot; sie drückte ihm ein Goldstück in die Hand--elle lui glissa une piece d'or dans la main*. These are all examples--and there are plenty more--where the grammatical construction of French and German coincide and where it diverges sharply from English. By the time he finds a genitive used with *sich bedienen*, corresponding to the preposition *de* used after *se servir*, or occasionally even with *sich erinnern* instead of the more usual preposition *an* and the accusative, he will have begun at least to suspect that linguistic contacts between the two languages concern more than the borrowing of words, but may also extend to syntax.

But the influences do not all operate in one direction. The same student, very early in his career has to be introduced in French to the troublesome question of the so-called aspirate *h*, and what it involves both in speech and writing. Any teacher worth his salt will have told him quite early on that the vast majority of words with the aspirate *h* are of Germanic as opposed to Latin origin, and will quote nouns like *le hameau*, *la hanche* and the verbs *haler* and *héler* with their "homely Anglo-Saxon" equivalents of *hamlet*, *haunch*, *hale* and *hail*, as opposed to words of Latin origin like *hôtel*, *herbe* and *horreur*. If he is a little more venturesome and stimulating he may even risk mentioning the adjectives *hagard* and *haut*, with the foreknowledge that the former can later be connected up with *la haie* of Germanic origin, and the latter can be used as an example of linguistic contamination, i.e., of the influence of the Germanic *h* on a word of Romance origin.

It is almost a pedagogical commonplace, too, to draw attention to the correspondence between initial French *g* and Germanic *w* as in *wardrobe* and *garde-robe*--even if it is a little premature to point out, perhaps roguishly, that *Garderobe* has been borrowed back into German, to mean "cloakroom". As the matter of linguistic contamination has been touched upon, perhaps this is a convenient moment to mention the other classic example of the substitution in French of *g* for the initial *v* or *w* of Latin like *vadum*, *vespa* and *vastare* to give the Modern French *gué*, *guêpe* and *gâter*, to say nothing of others of Germanic origin like *garage*, *guerre* and *garder*, where a similar phenomenon occurs, and in English; the homely-sounding word *garment*. The English doublets *guarantee* and *warrant*, both of Germanic origin but entering English by way of Norman French, illustrate the same principle and serve to remind us even more cogently that, through Norman-French, English, too, can be vitally interested in the question of linguistic contacts between French and German.

It will not be long either, before the student of German notices the large number of infinitives in *-ieren*, which appears to be used attached mostly to words of non-Germanic origin: like *regieren*, *studieren*, *inflexieren* or *telefonieren*.

Here the process of Germanisation is effected by means of a termination borrowed in the 12th century from French, at a time when a far greater proportion of infinitives ended in *-ier*, as in *jugier*, *laissier*, etc. To emphasize how close and pervasive Franco-German linguistic contacts have been, one has only to add examples like *hantieren*, *hausieren*, *halbieren* and *buchstabieren*, where the same ending has been added to native Germanic words, or a noun like *Borniertheit* with its characteristically Germanic noun-suffix.

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The foregoing are all commonplace examples but they are only a slight foretaste of other illuminating features common to French and German that a deeper historical study will reveal. After very little experience, it becomes almost automatic to assume that certain pairs of words exist in both languages. Consider pairs of adjectives like: *philosophique* | *philosophisch*, *énergique* | *energisch*, *logique* | *logisch*, *politique* | *politisch*. Like their corresponding nouns they are all of Greek origin. In the case of the first two (*philosophy* and *energy*) French and German use identical forms differentiated only by capital letters and differences of pronunciation. In such cases we find French and German in close contact because they both draw on the common heritage of Greek. But closer observation shows us that in the German forms the stress falls on the last syllable which is not the usual thing in German pronunciation, as it is in French. What, if anything, are we to infer from this?

The nouns corresponding to our second pair of adjectives are respectively *logique*, *politique* and *Logik*, *Politik*. Here the German forms, unlike the French, show variation in the position of the stress, as do the analogous pair of words *Grammatik* and *Mathematik*. But when we come to examine the names for the practitioners of these arts, we find that they form homogeneous groups within their respective languages: *Logiker*, *Politiker*, *Physiker*, *Grammatiker*; and *logicien*, *politicien* (in a bad sense), *physicien*, *grammairien*. All this means that in learned words of this kind, Greek provides original contact, but thereafter French and German tend to diverge both in the matter of stress and in forming derivatives indicating the agent.

Of these examples it can be confidently assumed that the concepts concerned did, in fact, originate in ancient times, and that Greek was the language used to formulate and express them. But within the class of adjectives we are considering there are words like *romantisch* | *romantique*, which are relatively modern. In the strictly literary sense, the concept of "romantic" dates from the late 18th century and is of German origin, but the word used to express the concept is clearly of Romance origin with a Greek suffix--all of which makes it easy for French, other Romance languages, and English, to take over and adopt the literary concept of *romantique*, *romantic*, etc. But here again once the contact is provided, the derivatives and related words fall into their national linguistic groups, viz.: *die Romantik*, *die Romantiker* | *le romantisme*, *les romantiques*.

Another feature that frequently strikes the more discerning student of French and German is the exact correspondence of the component parts of words in the two languages. In words of this class English again comes into the picture on the French side. Consider such words as *unwiderruflich*: which is exactly *ir-re-voc-able*; *Unabhängigkeit*: *indépendance*; *Ausnahme*: *exception*; *Eindruck*: *impression*; *Ausdruck*: *expression*. (An earlier form *Ausdrückung* made the correspondence even closer.)

Words of this kind provide very real linguistic contact with French--and frequently with other languages as well. As a sample let us take a group of two dozen or so German words quoted by the eminent Italian linguist Pisani as loan-translations or *calques* as the French call them (using an Italian word for the purpose.) Directly based on French, are *Ausdruck* (*expression*), *Grossvater* (*grand-père*), *Flugblatt* (*feuille volante*). But the Franco-German contact is frequently shared by others. The most pervasive examples are those going back to Greek, usually by way of a Latin loan-translation, e.g. *Gewissen*, *conscientia*, *συνείδησις*; *Mitleid*, *compassio*, *συμπάθεια*; *Fall* (in the grammatical sense) *casus*, *πτῶμα*.

In such cases the link is provided by a German loan-translation of a Greek-expressed concept, the Latin form of which has been assimilated

by French. In the case of *compassion* and *sympathie* French has a similar original concept twice over (in both Greek and Latin forms) as has German with *Sympathie* and *Mitleid*. As loan-translations from Latin Pisani quotes *Ausnahme* (*exceptio*), *Gleichgewicht* (*aequilibrium*), *Oberfläche* (*superficies*), *Wohltat* (*beneficium*), *Vorsicht* (*providentia*), *Umstand* (*circumstantia*)--all of which Latin forms have their obvious French equivalents. The original English *blue-stocking* and *freethinker* have produced the twin loan-translations: *Blaustrumpf* | *bas bleu*; *Freidenker* | *libre penseur*. On the Italian *cavolfiore* and *biscotto* are modelled the Franco-German couples *Blumenkohl* | *chou-fleur*, *Zwieback* | *biscuit*.

In this field one is conscious of raising more questions than can be answered. For example, if *freethinker* and *blue-stocking* are the original expressions, can any priority be established between the French and German equivalents? Was *Blaustrumpf* directly based by Schiller on *blue-stocking* or was it a secondary formed on the derivative *bas bleu*, or *vice versa*? Interesting and tantalizing as such problems are, there is no doubt of the Franco-German contact, in whatever manner it may have arisen.

III

"Contacts between Romans and Germans," says Gamillscheg in the opening sentence of his *Romania Germanica*, "can be traced back to the second century B.C." But it is no mere fancy to say that linguistic contacts go back much further. There is good evidence for pre-historic association of Germanic and Italic tribes in the second millennium B.C. in the region of the middle Danube. The examples of words we use to illustrate the first sound shift provide us with obvious contacts. The most accessible examples are usually borrowed from Latin and Greek. The interesting thing about so many of these classical cognates of Germanic words is to see what a large proportion of them descend from Latin into modern French. Take, for instance, a set of examples quoted for the voiceless stops (*p*, *t*, *k*). Corresponding to *cor*, *tres* and *pes*, *pedis*, are of course NHG *Herz*, *drei* and *Fuss*; and directly descended from the very same Latin cognates are *coeur*, *trois* and *pied*. Even if the other categories of voiced stops and aspirates do not exhibit quite such complete correspondence, such as there is, suffices to show how real the primitive contact was, especially in the case of numerals, for example. Other examples, less simple to explain than those that conform to so-called Grimm's Law, are none the less real, and corroborate the obvious point, e.g., *kommen* and *venir*; *Kuh* and *boeuf*; *tun* and *faire*. In fact, one has only to glance down the entries on any page chosen at random from the *Dictionnaire des racines des langues europeennes* of Grandsaignes d'Hauterive to see what a large proportion of such roots are common to modern French and German.

Let us now return to the physical, military and cultural contacts between Roman and German. The first important contacts go back to the founding of the colony of Gallia Narbonensis in 122-118 B.C. By the time of Caesar's conquest of Gaul in the 50's of the first century B.C. Roman and German have become closer neighbours. Then in the first century A.D. the Rhine becomes a kind of boundary between the Roman province and the independent Germanic tribes. It is in the first three centuries of the Christian era that we find the first tangible linguistic contacts--in the two provinces of Germania superior and inferior. Among Roman place names that have survived are *Kassel* and *Kaster*, representing two different forms of the word that has given French *château*; the name *Kemme*, *Kemm(e)* is the same word as *chemin*; and the first element in *Karelweg* is the same as *carrière*. Others are *Calcar*, *Tewern* and *Kempen*, all of which have French counterparts.

Of fundamental importance for our purpose is the fact that during this period the language of intercourse between Romans, Kelts and Germans was Vulgar or spoken Latin. It has been emphasised that in the early period the direction of cultural and linguistic influence was west to east. Let us look at some of the Latin words that find their way into German, confining our examples to words that modern French and German possess in common. If we were to include others that are now obsolete, but important to the student of the history of German, the total would be much higher. Take first a few samples like *Pferd*, *Sarg*, *Schemel* and *Kunkel*. At first sight, these appear so German-looking as compared with the obvious French borrowings we began with, that it is with some surprise that we first learn that they are of the same origin as *palefroi*, *cercueil*, *escabeau* and *quenouille*, the terminations of which are even more typically and exclusively French. In fact, of all the categories into which these early loan words fall (some 400 in number) there is none that does not exemplify some contact with French. It will be observed in passing that these Latin words are practically all *Bedürfnislehnwörter* and that no abstract words occur in this period.

In the domain of administration *Kette* is the same word as *chaîne*; in that of trade *Markt*, *Münze* are the same as *marché* and *monnaie*; *Saumtier* is a *bête de somme*. Military words are *Kampf*, though its French counterpart *champ* is not so confined in meaning, and *Meile*, *mille*. The word *Flaum* ("feather-down") is the same as *plume*; though the name of the creature that supplied it, the goose, is a Germanic word that made its way into early French as *jante* (*Gans*).

But the majority of West Germanic loanwords concern the occupations of the humbler classes. For example, the Germans of the Rhineland learned from the Romans the art of building stone houses. Still confining ourselves to words that appear also in French, we have *Kamin*, as in *cheminée*; *Kalk*, the same as *chaux* ("lime"), *Kammer* | *chambre*; *Mauer* | *mur*; *Fenster* | *fenêtre*. There are many words indicating vegetables and

fruits still common to both languages: *Kohl* | *chou*; *Lattich*, | *laitue*; *Rettich* | *raifort*; *Kirsche* | *cerise*; *Pfirsich* | *pêche*; *Pflaume* | *prune* and *Pflanze* | *plante*. It is curious, however, that Latin influence in words indicating agricultural activities is no greater than Germanic influence on Gallo-Romance in the same field at a later date. Examples are *Flegel* and *Stoppel* which are *fléau* and *éteule*. The German vocabulary for wine-making is nearly all of Latin origin: witness *Wein* | *vin*; *Kelch* | *calice*. Many words relating to kitchen and cooking correspond exactly: *Küche* | *cuisine*; *kochen* | *cuire*; *Schüssel* | *écuelle*; *Pfeffer* | *poivre*.

In these examples there is material for almost endless discussion on the phonetic and other problems peculiar to the history of either language; for example, the affricates characteristic of the second sound-shift in *Pflanze* and *Pflaum*. Observe, for example, the divergence between French and German forms due to the different position of the stress in polysyllabic words. The strong initial stress characteristic of West Germanic thus naturally reduces Latin forms like *Colonia*, *catena*, *moneta*, *cocina*, *scutella*, *securum* to *Köln*, *Kette*, *Münze*, *Küche*, *Schüssel*, *sicher*; whereas Gallo-Romance, favouring stress on the end or the penultimate syllable, produces *Cologne*, *chaîne*, *monnaie*, *cuisine*, *écuelle* and *sur*.

The few Germanic words that found their way into Latin at this period (like the sole example found in Tacitus: *framea*, a spear) hardly concern us except *sapo* (*Seife*), modern French *savon*; and in the older language *ganta* "goose" (in Pliny) and *taxo* from *Dachs*, which supplied the old word for "badger", *taisson*--now visible only in the relic *taniere*--before it was ousted in N. France by another word of obscure Gaulish origin, *blaireau*.

IV

It is now quite a long time since Hugo Schuchardt, the distinguished German Romance scholar, wickedly pointing out the large number of words of Germanic origin in French, playfully twitted the French Academy with the chagrin of having to acknowledge traces of "barbaric invasion" on practically every page of its Dictionary (*...obwohl auch der Academie der Schmerz nicht erspart geblieben ist, fast auf jedem Blatt ihres Wörterbuchs Spuren barbarischer Invasion verzeichnen zu müssen.*). And indeed, from the beginning of the fifth century, when the Roman armies on the Rhine were withdrawn for the defence of Rome, the aspect of Franco-German linguistic contacts changes completely. The Franks begin to pour over the Rhine into Belgium and Northern France; and there begins the period of perhaps four centuries during which, according to now commonly-accepted theory, Northern France was bi-lingual.

The result of four centuries of linguistic symbiosis, as von Wartburg calls it, was a great influx of Germanic words into Gallo-

Romance and hence into modern French. The older view that such words were imported by a thin stratum of Frankish rulers and soldiers and were predominantly of a military or administrative nature, is now quite untenable. In fact, certain categories of such borrowings are reminiscent of the types of Latin loan-words that had earlier made their way into German; but their number and variety is far greater: in architecture, words like *faîte*, *salle*, *loge*, *clanche* (mod. *déclencher*); in agriculture, *blé*, *gerbe*, *tas*, *haie*, *jardin*; domestic words, including cooking, *buer*, *gacher*, (waschen), *gâteau*, *baçon*, *frelon*, *hanneton*; animals and plants, *cresson*, *saule*, *osier*, *hêtre*, *houx*; birds, *épervier*, *héron*.

But unlike the limited Latin contributions to Germanic, Frankish contributes to Gallo-Romance several verbs for common actions like *glisser*, *dechirer*; adjectives of colour like *bleu*, *brun*, *blanc*, *gris*; and others like *frais*, *riche*, *hardi* and *laid*. The last two examples involve words indicating feelings like *honte* and *orgueil*--a type of word that Latin did not contribute to Germanic. Another wholesale invasion on a more personal plane was that of Germanic first names (*Albert*, *Roger*, *Edouard*, *Geneviève*, etc.) which even now probably greatly outnumber the Latin or Hebrew names (*Jules*, *Cécile*, etc.). There is also a substantial number of verbs in the *-ir* conjugation corresponding to the *-jan* conjugation of Germanic, e.g., *choisir*, *rôtir*, *blanchir*, *fournir*, *jaillir*; certain suffixes like *-and*, sometimes slightly disguised as in *paysan* or with another added to it as in *boulangier*; in *-ard* and *-aud*; important prefixes like *four-* and *me-* (*méchant*, *médire*), important prefixes like *four-* and *mé-* (*méchant*, *médire*), important adverbs like *guère* and *trop*.

But the influence of Germanic on Gallo-Romance was more subtle and pervasive than such borrowings indicate. Here we have to take into account the question of the aspirate *h* and the *g/w* alternation already mentioned--two phenomena that force themselves even on purely Romance words as in *haut*, *huit*, *huis*, and *guêpe*, *gué* and *gâter*. Then a verb like *forfaire* has a decided Germanic look about it. The word *compagno* which appears for the first time in the Lex Salica is a Latin loan-translation from Germanic (Gothic *ga-hlaiba*, OHG *galeipo*). Meillet has even suggested that the more elaborate Germanic system of cases may have helped to preserve the two-case declension in O.F. which did not survive in the other Romance languages; also that *rien* (*rem*) assumed its negative meaning under the influence of (*n*)*ichts* and that the use of *on* (*homo*) as an indefinite pronoun arose from the analogous use of *man*. Another possibly Germanic form of expression occurs in combinations like *Dieu merci*.

Then consider the inchoative meaning of *tenir* in O.F. where *tenez m'espee* means "take my sword" "Marsilies tint Guendun par l'espalle" clearly means: "M. seized G. by the shoulder"--which is

more like the meaning of OHG. *nam*. Similarly the imperfect *ert* or *esteit* was used where C.L. would have required *fuit*. In other words, the difference between perfective and durative action was neglected, which would be natural in a writer who was thinking in terms of Germanic *was* only. Then there is the well-known confusion in O.F. between *tu* and *vos* as applied to a single person, in the mind of a person accustomed to *du* only.

Finally consider the use of *cil* in *e escremissent cil bachelier leger*, an apparent use of a demonstrative form where an ordinary article seems called for. This is plausibly explained by the fact that in Frankish the form *der* was both demonstrative and definite article. In fact, O.F. possessed three forms *cil*, *cist* and *li* (*celui*, *ce*, *le*) to do the work done by Germanic *der* alone. In other words the literary language of the 12th century still bears archaic marks of linguistic conditions that existed in Carolingian days. So long was this period of symbiosis that there are even cases of the same word being borrowed twice at different periods. In order to explain the differences of form the Romance scholar has to have recourse to the fact of the sound shifts. The O.F. form *esclier* (to split) represents Frankish *slitan*; but the form *esclicier* (that still provides the Modern French for a splint: *éclisse*) represents the shifted form *slizan*. It is even possible to find shifted and unshifted forms in the same author. Chrétien de Troyes uses both *esclicier* and the more modern *esclater*. Similarly there occur the forms *griper* and the shifted form *griffer*.

V

The question of place names is a much more complicated one than might be imagined at first sight. Those containing words of Frankish origin like *Hêtraie* (= *Buchenwald*) do constitute a linguistic contact of a kind, but do not tell us very much, because the word *hêtre* exists in its own right. But the thirty - odd place names in *-bais* deriving from *Bach*, are in a different category because this element is used only in compounds: *Roubaix* and *Marbay* are exactly *Rossbach* and *Marbach*. Then there are names like *Charly* where the Galloroman suffix *-iacu* is added to a Germanic proper name. Also added to Germanic proper names are the words *court*, *ville*, or *villier*, e.g., *Ermenonville*, *Rendlincourt*. These, too, are not mere suffixes but words in their own right. In these examples we have the Germanic word-order; but the Romance order also occurs as in *Courrendlin* exactly analogous to the O.F. manner of saying *la maison le roi*. The German type of compound place-name with the Germanized form *wil* or *weiler* for *ville* or *villier* occurs frequently on German soil as in *Ruppersvil*, *Badenweiler*, etc. The position of localities bearing these names mainly in an area corresponding to the Frankish Empire of the 6th and 7th centuries is a strong argument for von Wartburg's theory of bi-lingualism.

French place-names containing the element *-ingen*, a personal suffix added to Germanic names, are of purely Germanic origin. In modern times the suffix appears in two forms *-anges*, corresponding to the Frankish form *-ingas*; or *-ens* corresponding to the Germanic form *-ingos*. The significance of their distribution does not concern us here. The names in *-ange* are numerous and compact in the north, less numerous and more scattered in the south and west, but still north of the Loire. What is significant is the gap in between, exhibiting numerous names ending in *-court*, *-ville*, or *-villiers*. Now the names in *-ange* are older than those in *-court*, and could only have been introduced by Franks. In fact, the names in *-court* and *-ville* are probably due to change of name. Such change postulates a mixed bilingual population. Even today from Lorraine to Switzerland roughly along the linguistic frontier, are many places with two forms of the same name, for example, *Rechicourt* and *Rixingen*. There are cases where Romance *court* and Germanic *Dorf* are interchanged as if they were of identical meaning. The pair *Füllingen/Foulligny* shows interchange of Germanic *-ingen* with Gallo-romance *-iacu*.

These changes in place-names suggest the following explanation. The names in *-anges* must have originated with the invading Franks right down to the Loire. Then at a later date, as the process of Romanizing advanced, two sets of names co-existed, but the Gallo-Roman forms gradually won the day, first probably in the Paris area. In the north, as is to be expected, the Germanic suffix persists most strongly--but in its gallo-romanized form.

The place names in *-ens* now occur mostly in two regions: Western Switzerland between the lakes of Geneva and Neuchâtel, and in most of Franche Comté on the opposite side of the Jura Mountains (both of them regions occupied by the Alemans--in the latter case towards the end of the 5th century.) The advance into Burgundy east of the Jura came during the following century. We have to "emancipate" ourselves from the present-day language frontiers.

It should be added that bi-lingualism has been invoked by von Wartburg, to explain the phonetic phenomenon of the 'breaking' of stressed open *e* and *o* into *ie* and *ue* (as in *miel* and *cuer*) that occurs in Old French but not in Provençal. According to this theory, vowel-lengthening occurred in regions where Franks penetrated and was followed by the same diphthongization as occurred in Old High German--one of the clearest points of difference from Low German. Von Wartburg's collaborator, the Germanist Frings, is of the opinion that this diphthongization of OHG began in the bi-lingual areas of Northern France, where lengthening had already occurred, and then reacted on Frankish. ("Das Germanische griff mit seinen Längen in das Romanische ein, das Romanische griff mit Diphthongen in das Germanische zurück."). In France this would be due to Frankish influence, in Northern Italy to

that of the Langobards. But apart from other objections, this theory does not explain why the same diphthongisation occurs in Castilian Spanish but not in Catalan or Portuguese.

VI

We have now nearly reached the period where the earliest documents of French occur and again we find an interesting set of contacts which are a corollary to the Franco-German bi-lingualism we have just discussed. To point to Otfrid's use of *frenkisgon* wherein to sing the praises of the Lord, especially to Anglo-Saxons accustomed to the usual pronunciation of the name *French*, so far removed from either *frangais* or *französisch*, may give the impression of playing on words. But there are earlier much more remarkable and significant contacts than the *Evangelienbuch*. In the *Glosses of Cassel* dating from the late 8th century the contact, it is true, is still between Germanic and Latin, or perhaps more accurately, between Bavarian and Romance. They were composed by a Bavarian in the 8th or 9th centuries for the use of Germans travelling in Romance-speaking countries. They are an early example of traveller's phrasebook, and as such concern themselves with mundane but necessary things like hair-cuts and shaves in German and "proto-Romance". From the point of view of Romance generally, it is clear that the glosses for *man* and *liver*, namely *homo* and *figido* are not Classical Latin. From the point of view of French, it is noteworthy that the word for *toe* is *ordigas*, that is, *orteil*, a Celtic contamination that French does not share with its sister-languages. The "Romani" glossed as *Walha* (modern *Welsch*) are probably the French. In fact, this word probably has something to do with the form of the word *Gaule* which is clearly not an uninhibited development of a popular Latin form. The better known *Glosses of Reichenau* take their name from the monastery of Reichenau on an island in Lake Constance (Bodensee) in the midst of German-speaking territory. But it is believed that the *Glosses* originally come from the North of France. The oldest of the three MSS probably goes back to the 8th century. For our present purpose, suffice it to emphasize firstly that this fundamental document for the history of French takes its name from a monastery in German-speaking territory, not far removed from Fulda and St. Gall; and secondly, it occasionally uses words of Germanic origin to gloss Latin words for the benefit, be it remembered, of men living in Northern France: a breastplate (*torax*) is *brunia* (i.e. *broigne*); a helmet (*galea*) is *helmus*; *respectant* is *rewardant* (*regardent*) and *Gallia* is *Frantia*.

But the most remarkable instance is the *Oaths of Strasburg* of 842 which are generally accepted as being the first extant piece of continuous prose that can reasonably be labelled as French. But for our purpose it is interesting to remember where it is preserved: namely embedded in the single extant MS of a Latin chronicle *De Dissensionibus Piltorum Ludovici Pii* (III, 5) by Nithard, a grandson of Charlemagne or Karl the Great, if you prefer, and cheek by jowl with a German version

of the same Oaths. Consequently, we find the Oaths constantly republished, edited and commented upon side by side, as early documents of both French and German.

Another curious instance is what is perhaps the next-oldest document of French dating from the late 9th century: the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*. This, crowded in with the OHG poem now generally called the *Ludwigslied*, was written down to fill up the unused pages at the end of a volume devoted to a Latin translation of the works of St. Gregory of Nazianze (Cappadocia, Asia Minor). The actual title used in the MS for the German poem is *Rhythmus Teutonicus*. It was first discovered at the Abbey of Saint-Amand in N. France by Mabillon in 1672, then lost till rediscovered in 1837 at Valenciennes by none other than Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Thus two investigators, French and German, in discovering an early document of his own language at the same time unearthed an early specimen of that of his neighbours. It only remains to add that the most modern edition and history of the *Ludwigslied* (the name given it by Grimm and retained by Hoffmann von Fallersleben) is by a French editor, Paul LeFranc. A photographic reproduction shows for all to see the *Cantilena* followed by the *Rhythmus Teutonicus*. The OHG text is also accompanied by the translations into French and Flemish that accompanied the *Rhythmus Teutonicus* when it reappeared in 1837.

VII

These examples may not possess much solid linguistic significance, but are at least picturesque instances of the two young languages in the same cradle, as it were. Hereafter the two languages grow up and develop away from each other. Yet they are constantly in contact with each other in a more active sense than they have been hitherto. Up to now the contacts have been static and to some extent accidental. Later on they are to become much more positive, active and deliberate. By the time we reach the 12th century, the tide begins to flow the opposite way. Thanks in large part to the Crusades and court festivals like that at Mainz in 1184, French and German knights were brought into close contact. Hence many of the French words borrowed originate in the language of chivalry: such as *Panzer*, *Banner*, *Turnei* (now *Turnier*), *Abenteuer*, and adjectives like *falsch* and *fein*. There were also literary contacts. But besides words, German borrows devices and endings that ultimately spread widely: the infinitive ending *-ieren*, the abstract suffix *-ie* or *-ei* (as in *Melodie* or *Melodei*) subsequently expanded to *-erei*; the *-lei* ending of *einerlei*; the use of the second person plural *Ihr* based on *vous*, and early loan-translations from French like *höfisch* for *courtois* and *dörper* (now *Tölpel*) from *vilain*. All these are so well known that little more needs to be said on the subject. A similar remark applies to German borrowings from French during the so called *alamodische Zeit* in the vocabulary of cookery, costume, architecture etc., except that it may be pointed out that in

a word like *Balkon* German is taking back by way of French, a word now adorned with an Italian suffix, that it had earlier exported to Italy (MHG. *Balken*, Ital. *balco* and *palco*).

While the Latin origin of the major part of the vocabulary of French is the commonest of commonplaces, it may seem a little surprising to find a German scholar calling Latin "einer der Hauptbildner des Deutschen". In so saying Werner Betz is approaching the important question of loan-translations from Latin, which constitute another important type of contact with French. Fritz Mauthner's famous example is a striking illustration. What looks at first sight, more purely and innocently German than an unpretentious sentence like the following? *Die Gegend meiner Vaterstadt macht wirklich einen malerischen Eindruck*. But, in fact, it turns out that the five most significant words are all loan-translations--of *contrée*, *patria*, *effective*, *pittoresco* and *impressio*--all of which concern French either directly or indirectly.

We find illuminating examples of contacts in the so-called *Deutsche Abrogans*, a German translation explanatory of a Latin dictionary beginning with the word *Abrogans*--the first German book it has been called--compiled between 764 and 769 at Freising. (Incidentally, of the four known MSS one was executed at St. Gall at the end of the 8th century and one at Reichenau between 802 and 807.) Many of the loan-words and loan-translations contained in the *Abrogans* are momentary and do not reappear in MHG.; but even so, there is a respectable number of words that provide an ultimate contact with French. In the realm of religion are words like *piscof*, *munich*, *altare*: in thought, *furisehan* | *providere*; art, | *scuwo* (*Schau*) | *spectaculum*; government, *stiuren* | *gubernare*; *furisezzan* | *proponere*; *Keisartoam* | *imperium*; miscellaneous, *scefprocho* | *naufragus*; *untardeonot* | *subjectus*; *furiwurti* | *proverbium*.

Another segment of the vocabulary of Latin that French and German have in common is that connected with the Church: the same Latin (or Graeco-Latin) words that supply *Priester*, *Mönch*, *Münster*, *Kloster*, *Kreuz* and *predigen* in German, in French appear as *prêtre*, *moine*, *moutier* (or in learned form *monastère*), *cloître*, *croix* and *prêcher*. The Christian meanings assumed by the Latin words that gave *croire*, *âme*, *Sauveur*, *confession* are loan-translated into *glauben*, *Seele*, *Heiland*, *Beichte*.

The language of the Chancelleries about the end of the 15th century becomes coloured with words from administrative Latin like *Audienz*, *Formular*, *Dekret*, which also came to be used in French. The same is true of the language of the law: *Advokat*, *Delinquent*, *Kodizill*, *annulieren*. In the 16th century under the influence of Humanism comes academic Latin. Examples of words common to both languages are (in their German form) *Exámen*, *Fakultät*, *Kommentar*,

interpretieren.

Some of the words already discussed under the topic of Church Latin are in reality Greek words adopted in Latin, e.g., the words for *priest*, *monk* and *monastery*. Other ecclesiastical Greek words in German have relevant associations with French. It has been conjectured that the word *Bischof* (OHG *biscof*) reached German via Romance channels--as may be deduced from the loss of the first vowel of *episcopus* (which survived in Gothic) and the initial *b-*. The words *Enthusiasmus* and *Skandal* move away from their originally exclusively religious meaning of "divine inspiration" and "stumbling block" and through French influence assume the meaning of *Begeisterung* and *row, shindy*, respectively (the latter from student language--as perhaps *Spektakel* with similar meaning.) In the 17th century *geistreich* under the influence of *spirituel*, likewise assumes a worldly meaning. German *Hymne* assumes feminine gender under French influence (in the technically religious sense); *Kathedrale* is an 18th century borrowing; while in the word *Häresie*, a synonym of *Ketzerei* also of Greek origin, both the stress and termination point clearly to French influence. *Kretin* is another 18th century borrowing from *crétin*, a deformation of *chrétien*.

When we come to the general question of Greek words in German we again find plentiful signs of French influence. *Epoche* and *Epoche machen* are French in form and conception. The following examples are all Greek in origin, but have entered German via French--as the final position of the stress in most cases shows: *Migräne*, *Idee*, *Phantom*, *Papier*, *Nekrolog*, *Akzent* (a loan-translation of *prosodia*), *Orchester*.

In the language of philosophy come words like *aktuell* | *actuel*. Here French and German agree in giving the word its temporal meaning which is foreign to English. It goes back to *actu* (whence *actualiter*), the Latin equivalent of Aristotle's ἐνεργεία (= *actually*), the correlative term to δυνάμει (= *virtually, potentially*). The latter word by the way, through its Latin loan-translation *facultas* is responsible for *Fakultät* and *faculté* in the academic sense. Similar Latin loan-translations from Greek lie behind nearly all terms connected with grammar: *accusative*, *indicative*, etc. *Fall* is an exceptional loan-translation of *casus*.

An interesting German loan-translation from Greek is the word *Umschwung* (credited to Herder and/or Voss) for the literary word *peripeteia* that French borrows directly, as it does *rhinoceros* and *hippopotame*, which German loan-translates as *Nashorn* and *Fluss- or Nilpferd*. In *Ausgabe* and *Blumenlese* we have two words originating in Greek: in the first case French adopts the loan-translation *édition*; but generally prefers *anthologie* to *florilège*. Other words of Greek origin arrive in German via Italian as their form suggests, but have made their way into French as well: *Zitrone*, *Melone*, *Pokal*.

Perhaps the clearest category of all Greek words reaching German through French is the vocabulary of the metric system (1793) — *gramme*, *litre*, *mètre* and their numerous compounds. The geometrical word *diameter* had been borrowed long before (1400: *dijameter*) and was later (1667) replaced by the loan-translation *Durchmesser*. Sometimes the same Greek word has been borrowed twice, once directly with German stress, and then through French and retaining French stress: *Parábel* and *Parole* (pass-word), *Tresen* (counter) and *Tresór*. A similar thing occurs with *Skizze* and *Zettel*. The latter is our *schedule* (containing the root of *scheiden*), the former comes from Italian *schizzo* from the same root, but changes to the feminine gender under the influence of French *esquisse*.

VIII

Naturally the question of loan-translations would first arise in relation to transfers from the classical languages to modern languages. But as the modern languages reach maturity, they are capable of formulating their own concepts, which are then spread among each other by a mere process of adaptation between the Romance languages (*pittoresco*, *pittoresque*, *pintoresco*) or by the process of loan-translation into German (*malerisch*).

Loan-translations were first discussed scientifically by Richard Heinzel in 1875. He quotes parallels with French like *Gefahr laufen* | *encourir danger*, *Gnade finden* | *trouver merci*, *Dank wissen* | *savoir gré*, *Wein abziehen* | *tirer le vin*. Either French and German somehow chance upon the same image independently, or else they have borrowed one from the other, as German clearly did in the case of *den Hof machen*.

In 1902 Singer uses the word *Bedeutungslehnwörter* for words created to express the sense of foreign words like *entdecken* and *découvrir*. In 1909 Götze applied Singer's suggestion to a detailed study of pairs of words like *einblasen* | *inspirare*; *Gegengift* | *antidotum*. The 1948 edition of the Kluge-Götze etymological dictionary gives a list of well over a hundred examples of such loan-translations that exist in German. In 1914 Schwyzer stressed the cultural interchange between languages that borrow from one another, not merely words, but expressions. The meanings associated with *Geist*, for example, are influenced by association with *esprit*. *Geistesgegenwart* corresponds to *présence d'esprit* just as *Schöngeist* was loan-translated from *bel esprit*. Schwyzer also drew attention to Latin phrases like *posito casu* that give rise to *le cas posé* and *gesetzenfalls*.

In 1912 Sandfeld-Jensen produced a classification of "calques linguistiques". (1) The meaning of a word is widened by assuming the meaning of the corresponding foreign word: semantic borrowing. About 1850 *Ente* assumes the meaning of a false report (*canard*); *aile* with

the help of Latin *ala* in the specialized sense of the wing of an army transfers this meaning to *Flügel*. (2) New words are formed by translation: *ent-decken* from *découvrir*. In the case of French and German *paeninsula* gives exactly *presqu'île* or less accurately *Halbinsel*. French *demi-monde* produces *Halbwelt*; *contrata* produces *Gegend*; *considérable*, *beträchtlich*; *Umwelt* for *milieu* has been called an Ersatzwort. (3) Whole phrases are translated: *faire la cour* is adopted as *den Hof machen*.

Needless to say this process is not confined to French words--as is shown by *Jungferrede* and *Hinterwäldler* ("backwoodsman"). The subject is a vast one and there is ample room for investigation--and caution. There is the temptation--for some at least--to regard *Muttersprache* as a loan-translation of *lingua materna*. Weisgerber has shown that the contrary is more likely. Similarly, Kluge-Götz classes *Heimweh* as a loan-translation of *nostalgia* but this, too, is probably putting the cart before the horse.

In his discussion of loan-translations Schwyzer uses the following significant words "alle Sprachen, die Teilnehmer der westeuropäischen Kultur sind, sind heute zu den gleichen kommerziellen, technischen, wissenschaftlichen, journalistischen Leistungen genötigt und auch befähigt". These pregnant words can be applied with much profit to all manner of modern concepts whether scientific, historical philosophical or what not. We have only to think back to two examples already quoted, namely, *blue-stocking* and *freethinker*, to realize that once somebody had invented them, their equivalents in another language were produced by loan-translation. This kind of thing still goes on whenever some new scientific discovery or invention comes to the fore. Both *sputnik* or *spoutnik* and *lunikh* will be adopted in French and German as they stand, as *Gas* (or *gaz*) was when it was derived from *chaos* by Helmont in 1650. But when Lavoisier coined the words *oxygen* and *hydrogen* (adjective compounds meaning "acid-producer" and "water-producer") before the Revolution, German both borrowed the words, giving one, but not the other, a misleading Latin termination in the process (*Oxygenium* but *Hydrogēn*), and also partly loan-translated them as *Sauerstoff* and *Wasserstoff*, which are now the usual terms. There has been a similar situation between *Radio* and *Rundfunk*; what is the situation with *Fernsehen* and *télévision*?

Conversely in 1798 the German chemist, Klaproth, coins *Tellur* (*Tellurium*, *tellus*: "the earth") as a complementary term to *Uran* (*Uranium*; *ouranos*: "sky"). In such a case French adopts the Greek or Latin word without difficulty, but for Gemmingen's *Aufklärungszeitalter* (1753) finally produces *l'âge des lumières*. Among other German-invented concepts expressed in a classical language is *Protestant*, which French adopts quite naturally--both as noun and adjective--until it invents its own name *Huguenot* drawing on Germanic

Eidgenosse for the purpose. An extreme case is *Sturm und Drang*; but rather than use the suggested *tempête et élan*, French writers prefer the original German.

Some interesting and common modern expressions are *porte tournante* (or *tambour*) | *Drehtur*; *escalier roulant* | *Rolltreppe*; *fermeture-éclair* | *Reissverschluss*; *parachute* | *Fallschirm*. Which of these names and concepts are French and which German? Or did both languages borrow from English, American or elsewhere? The Anglo-Americanism *Hi-fi* has produced *haute-fidélité*, but not, as far as I am aware, *hohe Treue*.

Similar questions can be asked about concepts in history, for example. Most of us here know when, where and by whom the concept of the *Iron Curtain* originated. So overnight *rideau de fer* and *eiserner Vorhang* received a new meaning. But who first thought of the term the *Middle Ages*, the *Renaissance* or the *Thirty Years' War*, or thought of speaking of the *ancients*? It would require a *superman* (whether *surhomme* or *Übermensch*) to give all the answers, but that does not make the question any less fascinating.

IX

Ever since the 12th century there has been a strong tendency for *Fremdwörter* in Germany to be swollen by French borrowings--in words connected with dress, fashion, social life, architecture, cuisine and even military terminology. Although this wholesale borrowing reached its climax in the earlier 18th century, the strong reaction against *Verwelschung*, generally known as *Sprachreinigung*, began in the 17th century. Not all of Philipp von Zesen's attempts at substitution succeeded, so that the contacts with French that exist in words like *Bibliothek* and *Adresse* (alongside *Anschrift*), remain unbroken. Whether the animus of the reformers was directed any more zealously against obviously French words like *Adresse* than against *Bibliothek* which is Greek, I am not certain; but, if we examine the list of words attacked by Heinrich Campe in the 18th century, the proportion of words in French form or of French invention as compared with Greek or Latin seems much greater, e.g., *Resultat* (*Ergebnis*), *Campagne* (*Feldzug*), *Appetit* (*Esslust*), *Journal* (*Tageblatt*), *realisieren* (*verwirklichen*), *pikant* (*prickelnd*), *kokett* (*gefällsüchtig*). But clearly not even Lessing's disapproval of *sentimental* for *empfindsam*, prevented Schiller from coupling it with another obvious French borrowing in the almost Latin-smacking title of *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*. The more commonly quoted examples of unsuccessful efforts at purification are not usually French in form but Latin or Greek: but in any case they still have *Natur*; instead of *Zitterweh* we have *Fieber*; instead of *Tageleuchter*, *Fenster*, and instead of *Schauburg*, *Theater*.

Although the number of French words used in German whether permanently or otherwise, must surely exceed the number of German words used in French, the latter have never ceased to make their way in. It is a salutary, and to some people sobering, reflexion to remember that such characteristic words as *chic*, *garçon*, *boulevard* and *croissant* are no more French than the roast-beef of Old England is Anglo-Saxon. *Chic* is German *geschick* and *croissant* is a loan-translation of Viennese *Hörnchen* (the "horn of the moon"). These, too, are so well-known that very few examples need be given. If we pass over the early bi-lingual period that made such a vital contribution to the French vocabulary, we find in the 16th century, besides "period" words like *reître* and *lansquenet*, others still in common use like *bière*, *boulevard*, *halte*, *bivouac*, *choucroute* and *blague*.

X

Let us now look for a moment at what actually happens when people speak both French and German. How are French words treated in German and vice versa? The early Latin words common to French and German follow the development of the language concerned. *Murus* becomes *mur* and, with change of gender, *die Mauer*; we have *la fenêtre* and *das Fenster*. Different positions of the stress produce *die Kette* and *la chaîne*. The Germanic words of the bi-lingual period in most cases assumed a Gallo-romance form and developed accordingly; but French words in German from the 12th century on tend to retain their stress on the final syllable: *Turnei* or *Turnier*. The cases where Germanic stress prevails as in *Leutnant* are the exception: the type of *Garnison*, *Kostüm*, *Manschette*, is much commoner. *Grammatik* bears the normal German stress; but *Mathematik*--the same spelling with different stress--makes one wonder whether the word came through French.

German words in French are much more severely treated. *Reître* for *Reiter* is perhaps to be expected, but from *Landesknecht* to *lansquenet* the difference is great, as is that between *biwacht* and *bivouac*: *choucroute* and *Sauerkraut*. To the uneducated person the last example might suggest two other completely unrelated words *chou* and *croûte*; but other cases of homonyms are more serious; the two Germanic words *la bière*, for example, the two words *aune* distinguished in French but not in German by gender (*Erle* and *Elle*) and *houe/houx*. As between Germanic and Latin words we have *échope* (*Schoppen* and *scalprum*). The musical term *Kassation* ("divertimento" or "serenade") comes from *Gasse* but forms a homonym to *cassation* in French and *Kassation* in German, a legal term meaning "quashing". On the other hand, it is thanks to homonyms already existing in French that one of the pair is ousted by a Germanic word. The identity of the form of *fou* (*fagus* "beech") with the adjective *fou* may have been the means of letting in *hêtre*; similarly, perhaps, *boulangier* when the *s* of OF *pester* became silent (which rouses interesting speculations about what a *pet de nonne* really

means). A more reliable case is the similarity between *femore* "thigh" and *femur* "dung". "Thigh" is now expressed by *cuisse* from *coxa* "hip" - which hands over its function to the Germanic incomer *hanche*. But if these Germanic words enter French thanks to pre-existent homonymy, they can be ousted for the same reason, e.g. the adjective *baud* because of identity with *beau* - surviving only in the obsolete *s'ébaudir*. Also archaic is the past participle *marri*, a harmless homonym of *mari*, surviving from *marrir*, a word of Germanic origin that enriches both French and Italian, but has disappeared from German. *Marrant* survives as a vigorous modern colloquialism. The homonymy of *écot* and *écho* is harmless because the first is extremely rare and occurs practically only in the expression *payer son écot*: Similarly *le houx* and *la houe* both Germanic, are sufficiently distinguished by gender.

But if French mangles German words in pronunciation, German treatment of French genders is quite as cavalier and disconcerting. In the space of a few pages in one article by the great Romance scholar Schuchardt, one finds the following French masculines used as neuters: *das Niveau*, *das Department der Meuse*, *ein reiches Terrain*, *das Provinzialparlament*, *das Arrondissement*. To these can be added examples like *das Abonnement*, *das Rouleau*, *das Foyer*, *das Kartell*. French masculines in -age are consistently made feminine in German: *die Etage*, *die Bagage*, *die Courage* (Schiller uses at least once *das Courage* - any gender but the right one!), as are also un-French formations like *die Blamage*, *die Renommage*. By historical coincidence, both in French and German, all feminine singular adjective forms end in -e, which also happens to be characteristic of many feminine nouns, especially abstracts like *die Breite*, *die Güte*, *die Freude*, *die Länge*; *la misère*, *l'audace*, etc. But in many French masculines this -e is merely a supporting vowel (as in *ordre*, *geste*) or is just a French dress, as it were, for a masculine or neuter adapted from a Latin or Greek original as in *épisode*, *éloge*. But the moment these are borrowed in German they become feminine. The feminine gender of *die Ordre*, for example, is explained in an annotation to a text by Schiller as due to being classed along with the feminines *Sprache*, *Rache* and *Sache*. For the same reason presumably *die Kartusche* with one gender only is used for both meanings of French *cartouche*, one masculine, one feminine, in turn borrowed from Italian *cartoccio* and *cartuccia*, and preserving the original distinction of gender.

Frequently in German it seems as if an attempt is made to retain the neuter gender of the original Latin or Greek word, in cases where French having no neuter, naturally uses the masculine gender. Examples are *das Páthos*, *das Phenomen*, *das Symptom*, *das Symbol*, *das Sakrament*, *das Fundament*. But even when the word is clearly borrowed from French as pronunciation, stress or form shows, it tends to revert to its classical gender: *das Genre*, *das Regime*, *das Regiment*. The word

Moment in German has both masculine and neuter gender - the latter in the sense of "momentum" ('la race, le moment, le milieu' of Taine's celebrated formula), and less commonly, masculine in the sense of the commoner *Augenblick*. Hence the modern misunderstanding of the expression "psychological moment" which is supposed to have arisen during the siege of Paris in 1870. The bombardment of the city, according to official strategy, was supposed and expected to be of considerable *psychologisches Moment*. The intended victims of this psychological impetus misunderstood it, perhaps wilfully, as psychological moment in the temporal sense, and to some extent at least, the expression has stuck, even in English.

Perhaps the most curious and chaotic class of all is that of words in *-ee*. *Allee* and *Idee* rightly retain their French gender, but they are exceptional. But *die Kamée* has apparently followed their example in spite of the masculine gender of *le camée*, (corresponding to Italian *cammeo*). *Committee* in Schiller's *Maria Stuart* (705) is used in the feminine, with French accentuation, but the modern dictionary form is *das Komitee*. *Das Renommee* is also neuter. The same *-ee* ending is given in German to the obvious French borrowings *Klischee*, *Resumee* and *Kanapee* ("mosquito-net") which also assume neuter gender.

But again the phenomenon of change of gender is by no means a one-sided one. In popular speech in Alsace-Lorraine [Steintal] masculine French nouns like *chat*, *travail*, *trêche* and *air* have gone over to the feminine gender under the influence of their feminine German counterparts (*die Katze*, *Arbeit*, *Predigt*, *Luft*).

In the matter of pronunciation, peculiarities of the foreigner's unschooled and unskilled pronunciation of another language are frequently used on the stage as a facile label for a 'stage' Frenchman or German. When allowance has been made for comic exaggeration there is a residue of substance that is sometimes used for more serious literary purposes. For example, Maupassant's Prussian who interchanges his voiced and voiceless consonants: *Oufrez ou je gasse la borte* or Daudet's: *Bas choli ga, bas choli*. Schuchardt quotes two distortions of *Mont Valerien* as *Baldrian* and *Bullerjahn*. A famous case in Schiller is the reference to *Manschetten und Jabot*. In the first edition of *Kabale und Liebe*, instead of *Jabot* was printed *chapeau* (which prompted a certain learned scholar to conjecture that Schiller dictated this passage to an imperfect amanuensis instead of writing it down himself.) The natural counterpart to the Prussians of Daudet and Maupassant is, of course, Lessing's *Riccaut de la Marliniere*.

German spellings of French words like *Girlande*, *Pike*, *Intrige* (i.e., without the *u*) are not unexpected. But the double *k* of *Akkord* compared with the single *k* of *Rekord* (which is English anyway) is significant.

We have raised the question of termination in relation to gender; but it can also be profitably raised in relation to certain other words in German whose counterparts exist in French. Where French speaks of *le vocabulaire* and *le commentaire*, German uses the nouns *Kommentar* and *Vokabular*. The adjectives however are written and pronounced with an umlaut *a*, which brings it into line with French, from which presumably the words were taken, instead of being taken directly from Latin *commentarium* and *vocabularium*. But the distinction between nouns in *-ar* and adjectives in *-är* is not watertight; for example *das römische Militär* is a noun and *stellar* is an adjective. In compounds we find *vulgärlateinisch* but *literarhistorisch*.

In the case of words like *religiös*, *tendenziös*, *skrupulös*, we have an approximation to the vowel sound in the termination written *-eux* in *religieux*, *scrupuleux*, etc. Similarly the ending as well as the first syllable of *souverän* betrays its French origin. Even closer to French pronunciation are the terminations in German *materiell*, *offiziell*, *kulturell*, *partiell*. But there also exist forms in *-al* like *national* and *spiritual*; sometimes parallel forms exist side by side: *rationell* and *rational*. In *Präfektur* (also *Kommandantur*) and *Allüre* there is another kind of parallelism; the latter is obviously French, like *Lektüre*.

This discussion began with certain contacts obvious to beginners, and others of historical significance that have pedagogical value. The question of mutual borrowings has not been stressed, because the subject is a well-worn one. But contacts between our two languages from I.E. times through loan-translations from Greek and Latin or from other sources, and through the exploitation of common resources to be found in the classical languages are no less real. Also unmentioned are a whole class of non-European words like *tabou*, *ananas*, *tabac* that have been adopted on both sides of the Rhine. It will have become abundantly plain too, that the phenomena we have discussed also concern other modern European languages, and thus constitute a not uninteresting aspect of European civilisation.

Finally it is not without interest to point out how French and German names intertwine in the history of linguistic scholarship. Scholarly interest in Germanic and Indo-European preceded any comparable interest in French and Romance. Then in 1816 appeared, running neck and neck as it were, Bopp's *Conjugationssystem* and the *Grammaire de la langue romane*, that delightfully naive title of the work of the 'pioneer' of Romance studies François Raynouard. Three years later begins Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*. Against this background it falls to the honour of the German Friedrich Diez to earn the title of founder of Romance Studies with his *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (1836-41), followed by his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen* in 1854.

Among Diez's students at the University of Bonn was Gaston Paris, destined to become, along with Paul Meyer, co-founder of *Romania* in 1872. Gaston Paris in his turn helped to train Gilliéron, famous as the father of linguistic geography.

Meanwhile, in 1863, it is a German, August Mahn, who invents the very term *Romanische Philologie*. A much more famous German romanist is the legendary Meyer-Lübke of Vienna, author *inter alia* of the formidable *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* at whose feet sat Gamillscheg (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* 1928) and the recently deceased Leo Spitzer. On the other side we have Lichtenburger's *Histoire de la langue allemande* (1895) and the *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques* of Meillet.

Altogether then, it would seem that German scholars have contributed much more to French linguistic studies than vice-versa, although in more recent times the work of scholars like Tonnelat and Jolivet have helped to redress the balance.

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